5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

they also encounter a golden eagle seated upon a mound, its eyes giving off sparks of fire. By some this eagle is thought to be Tirawa. The eagle directs the soul along the proper road, and as it approaches the spirit-village that is its destination, if it is time for it to enter, it is not stopped. If its possessor did not lead a good life, however, it may be directed back to earth and given another chance. The souls of medicine-men wander over the land visiting the lodges of animals and eventually reach the spirit-village of the medicine-men. Before entering, they must undergo a sweat bath and be sprinkled with fine dust.

According to one informant, souls are like small stars. At death, the soul goes off the way a cloud comes up and disappears, or the way a wind blows up and dies down. The souls of people who have been seen by the Star of Disease and who have as a result died of illness are taken by the South Star to his home in the south. The disposition of all other souls is determined by the Morning Star, who decides whether they shall be restored to life, taken with him to the east, or sent to the south. And it is the Morning Star's importance in this matter that caused the Skidi to bury their dead with the head toward the east.

As a rule, the preparation of the body for burial began immediately after death, and the burial followed within two or three hours.

The preparation of the body varied according to the rank and position of the deceased. When a man of importance was about to die he was carefully dressed in his best costume. Immediately after death, the body was painted with sacred red ointment by a priest engaged specially for the purpose. By this paint the man's friends in the spirit land would know that he had been well taken care of on this earth. The red ointment gave the rough and emaciated skin a smooth and healthy appearance. The body was now considered holy, for a corpse without the red paint was looked upon as dust and could not enter the land of the spirits. (Relative to this belief see Dorsey, 1904, pp. 69 ff.) The dead man was next wrapped in his buffalo robe. Should he have been a member of a society possessing ceremonial paraphernalia, as, for example, the Dog Soldiers, his feathers, whistles, rattles, etc., would be placed with him, and his face painted according to the style employed by his society. In the case of other societies the body would be prepared in a similarly appropriate manner.

The preparation of the bodies of those who died in extremely old age was similar to the method given above.

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The recognition of the death of friends or relatives was marked among the Skidi by certain mourning customs, more or less formal in their nature.

In case a man or woman died of old age there was no mourning feast, and the formal period of mourning lasted only during the day of the burial. At this time all the members of the band assembled and each placed his hands upon the body of the deceased, thus expressing the hope that he too might reach an old age.

Should a man of middle age die a natural death, it was considered a disgrace. There was no feast or formal mourning on the part of the tribe or the relatives. Such a natural death was thought to be caused by the Black Wind from the south and was an indication that the man's life was useless.

If a chief of any prominence died, the whole band mourned for several months. However, if his death occurred early in the spring, just before the great ceremonies were to begin, the mourning could be concluded at the end of four days. This was brought about by a priest, who formally asked one of the chiefs when they might have the mourning feast; the latter set it at the fifth day after death, in order that spring ceremonies of such great importance should not be delayed and thus to prevent hardship and possibly famine from visiting the band. On the fifth day the chiefs visited the lodge of the deceased, the first man to enter acting as spokesman. He told the widow to sweep the lodge; then he spread mats and pillows, and asked the family to leave. The latter made the lodge ready, placing the deceased's medals, clothing, and other personal effects northeast of the entrance, whereupon they left and sat outside. When the chiefs had all arrived and had arranged themselves in a circle, the son of the dead chief entered and said: "Chiefs, it is now time that we cease to mourn for my father. We have placed his belongings for you and tied his ponies outside." The son then retired from the lodge. The spokesman addressed the chiefs, reminding them of the good qualities of the deceased. Other chiefs followed with eulogistic speeches. When these were concluded, the spokesman lit a pipe and selected one of those present to offer smoke to the earth in honor of the dead man. The chief selected took the pipe, and standing northeast of the fireplace, blew four puffs to the earth. Addressing the earth, he said: "Chief, you have gone from us; you have returned to mother earth; you have travelled on the road leading to the village of our people. On your journey turn back. Speak to us who are yet living, and say: 'May all good gifts which

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

might have come to me had I lived be given to my people, for I need such gifts no more.'" He then emptied the ashes from the pipe upon the ground, passing his hand down the stem toward the earth four times. After this he walked around the lodge and handed the pipe, stem downward, to the spokesman. The latter thanked him, as did all present. An errand man was sent to the creek for water. The spokesman distributed the robes and presents among the chiefs. The errand man, having returned with the water, was told to call the family of the dead chief; they entered the lodge and sat in a line north of the entrance. The spokesman poured water into a wooden bowl and handed it to the mourner who sat at the west end of the line. This man then washed his face for the first time since the burial of the chief, and the other mourners washed their faces in turn. The errand man took the bowl and washed the semi-circular line of mourning paint from the spokesman's face, whereupon the latter placed water in front of the chiefs, who washed a little of the clay from each other's faces. The bowl was returned to the mourners, each of whom was given a sip of water from a dipper. The errand man then gave each chief a drink from the same bowl. Next the feast was brought in and placed west of the fireplace. The spokesman put meat in a bowl and gave a small piece to each of the mourners to eat. He returned to his place, and the errand man divided the meat among the others present, all of whom had fasted since the burial of the chief. After the feast was over the spokesman gave another address, and the ceremony came to an end. It should be borne in mind that this was a band ceremony involving all Skidi, irrespective of village affiliations.

The same ceremony was performed on the death of a medicine-man, the medicine-men participating and not the chiefs. Also the same ceremony was used for a warrior of prominence.

The death of a poor man was marked by mourning and fasting on the part of the family only. This lasted for three days, at the end of which time it was the duty of one of the chiefs to "wipe the family's tears away." He asked his wife to prepare food, especially meat, and told her to take it to the lodge of the mourners. No invitations were extended for this feast, but spectators, particularly friends of the family, might be present. The family of the deceased sat north of the entrance, while the spectators sat around the fireplace. The chief entered the lodge and addressed the family, telling them that it was time to stop mourning. His errand man brought him a bowl of water, after which the chief washed the face

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

connected with the ceremony remained at the scaffold. 782
When the crowd had gone, the guardian removed the 796
arrows from the body one by one and handed them to an assistant who divided them into four bundles and laid these bundles northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest of the fireplace. The body was then taken down and carried a short distance to the east of the scaffold, where it was laid face down. The sacred arrow was drawn from its heart and laid upon it. All then returned to the village, and the place was [766] avoided for some time.

It was believed that the soul of the girl left her 775
body at the moment she was struck with the club and 782
went straight to Tirawa, who sent it to the Morning Star. The Morning Star clothed it with flint from his fireplace in the dawn and placed it among the stars in the heavens. Her body was thought to be not like ordinary bodies. Even after her death it possessed life. Things would be born from it, and the earth would be fertilized by it.

The sacrifice as a whole must be considered as a 773
dramatization of the overcoming of the Evening Star 782
by the Morning Star and their subsequent connection, 796
from which sprang all life on earth. The girl upon the scaffold seems to have been conceived of as a personification or embodiment of the Evening Star surrounded by her powers. When she was overcome, the life of the earth was renewed, insuring universal fertility and increase.

Human sacrifices were rare among the North 171
American Indians. The practice is known to have 782
existed among the Natchez, who lived in the present state of Mississippi, and possibly in Arizona and New Mexico. In Mexico, on the other hand, the idea was highly developed, and under the Aztec rule large numbers of victims were immolated every year. It may be

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

cache 7 yielded three excellent digging tools made from bison scapulae; and cache 5, as already indicated, contained corn meal or some similar ground cereal. Much richer pits are, of course, sometimes found. One opened by Mr. A. M. Brooking, of the Hastings Museum, in an old village east of Genoa, yielded 10 scapula digging tools, bone awls, 5 bone knives, 2 grooved hammers, 2 elkhorn shaft-straighteners, many large mollusk shells filled with yellow and red paint, and 13 small mollusk shells in matched pairs.[14] Such finds are, however, the exception rather than the rule, and many disappointingly sterile caches are encountered for every one that yields worth-while returns.

Normally the caches were used for the storage and concealment of surplus corn and household furniture, particularly during the periods when the tribe was absent from its villages on the seasonal bison hunts. When earth had been thrown in on top of the contents and the opening sodded over the location of the cache was perfectly hidden from any stranger. Generally they were emptied when the family permanently removed, and all usable articles were carried away. Occasionally the owner never returned to claim his goods, perhaps because of forgetfulness as to the exact location, death, or from some other cause; or attacks by hostiles compelled flight too precipitate to permit emptying of the caches. In such cases the investigator may be better rewarded with pottery, flint and bone tools, ornaments, foodstuffs, and the like.

Caches occasionally serve a secondary purpose as places of interment. In June 1843, when the Dakota raided the Pawnee village near the Plum Creek mission, with such disastrous results for the latter tribe,[15] the terrified survivors threw the bodies of the dead into the caches,[16] covered them hastily with earth, and then fled to their kindred, the Grand Pawnee, south of the Platte. Such a function was, of course, purely accidental and was wholly foreign to the original purpose which the structure was intended to serve.

EARTHWORKS

Walls of circumvallation were constructed about practically every Pawnee village of the nineteenth century. Sixty years ago, according to early settlers, these were still plainly to be seen on many of the old sites, but with cultivation they have shared the fate of other remains and become rare indeed. Leveling of these old fortification walls was one of the first steps in breaking the land; hence their obliteration has been woefully complete. In fact the only remaining

[14] Brooking, A. M., unpublished manuscript.

[15] Dunbar, 1918, p. 656. Occurrences similar to the above probably account for the "burials of Morning Star Sacrifice victims" occasionally reported in the press.

[16] Allis, 1887, p. 155.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

122 Will, 1930; Will and Hyde, 1917. 000

126 *Pa-hu-kata-wa* was said to be a famous warrior. Dunbar, 1881, p. 736, translates the term as "kneeprint-by-the-water," explaining that the warrior once left the print of his knee by the side of a stream when he hurriedly kneeled to take a drink of water. Pahukatawa is also identified by Grinnell as a constellation (1925, pp. 142-161). 773 55 821

127, 138, 391 See Weltfish, 1937 pp. 98-100, 106, for an account in Pawnee texts of Pawnee arrow-shaft making. 000

140 While horses were highly valued as wealth, they were not genuinely personified. They were never addressed by name, descriptive names being applied to them for reference in conversation. Names were: Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki;* Red Spotted Horse, *Asa-waki-pahat;* Black Face Horse, *Paks-takax-katit;* White Hoof, *Askats;* Spotted on Side, *Karaxkats-kataku;* Black Nose, *Trus-katit;* White Horse, *Asa-taka;* Yellow Horse, *Asa-raxkata;* Red Head, *Paks-pahat;* High Forehead, *Rika-patsa.* Horses were never buried in separate graves or mourned. When a man died who had been very fond of a particular horse, they would sometimes kill the horse in his honor, but considerable opposition would often be raised to this by the people who might inherit the horse. 231 552 [556] 231 764 428 [766]

140 Dog's names, on the other hand, were used to call them. They were: Wide Feet, *As-kataribu';* White Spotted, *Paras-taka;* Bear Head, *Kuruks-paksu;* Red Puppy, *Kirax-pahat;* Hate-His-Tail, *Pits-tatur-ritku;* Gray-Headed-Female, *Ts-paks-kats;* Wooly, *Pararus;* Snub Nose, *Trus-kataku;* Red-Sore-Eyes, *Kirki-itsparus.* Victory Call did not want dogs in his house. He said they barked when people came in and that this was not cordial. Dogs were never allowed in the earth lodge. They were kept outside all the time. Some people kept them as watchdogs, and in some cases, the puppies were used to supply the ceremonial meal of the Dog Society. Lone Chief and his brother, Shot Arm, used dogs for hunting and for dog fights. Women disliked dogs because they tended to snatch the meat. Dunbar and Allis, 1918, give a very vivid description of the use of the dogs and Jacob Miller (Ross, 1951) painted them in his picture of the Pawnees on the march pulling the travois in 1834–1836. The Pawnees were able to identify themselves with wild animals and had great respect for them, but did not accord a similar value to the domestic varieties. 231 552 231 [262] [825]

140 The Pawnees lost the hard-won horses they had gained through trade and war through constant Sioux raids. Murray, 1839, Vol. I, pp. 243-245, an English sportsman and naturalist who accompanied the Pawnees on their summer hunt in 1834, experienced a stampede while in camp of "several thousands" of Pawnee 231 726 177